

At the Honolulu conference he was embraced by our President. Then he announced he was going to bring democracy to South Vietnam and hold elections in August. Despite the fact that our leaders tried to make a sweet-smelling geranium of Ky, throughout the entire period from the time of the military coup, he had never made any effort nor taken any steps whatever toward civilian rule to displace the militarists who seized power. In retrospect, the Honolulu conference, about which so much has been said by administration leaders, was an unfortunate episode in the recent history of our country.

With revolt and unrest growing daily in South Vietnam, it is evident Ky could not last as Prime Minister for even a few days except for our support. It is obvious that his time as Prime Minister is rapidly drawing to a close.

It is evident that this administration has involved our Nation in an unpopular war in Vietnam. There is no viable government in South Vietnam. Sallust, the Roman philosopher said:

It is always easy to begin a war, but very difficult to stop one, since its beginning and end are not under the control of the same man.

A recent editorial in the St. Louis Post Dispatch quoted Walter Lippmann's statement that it is becoming plainer every day that "The American intervention in South Vietnam is the most unpopular war within the memory of living Americans."

I ask unanimous consent that this editorial, entitled "Unpopular War," be printed in the Record at this point as a part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

UNPOPULAR WAR

In his column the other day Walter Lippmann said what is becoming plainer every hour, that "The American intervention in South Vietnam is the most unpopular war within the memory of living Americans." Indicators such as academic demonstrations amply support this judgment; the Gallup poll shows public approval of the way President Johnson is handling the Vietnam situation continues to slip.

The basic reason for the American attitude is simply that the people are not persuaded the effort is either wise or necessary. They are not convinced a few Asian guerrillas 10,000 miles away constitute a genuine threat to the security of the United States. Should the United States be attacked, or genuinely threatened, by an adversary worthy of its steel, we are sure the people would rally just as they did after the attack on Pearl Harbor.

The unrealistic arguments of Administration spokesmen, and President Johnson's continued sniping at his critics, seem to us to be having the effect of increasing popular discontent. Mr. Johnson's speech to a Democratic fund-raising dinner in Chicago is a case in point. The President said the American effort would continue "until the gallant people of South Vietnam have their own choice of their own government." He spoke of aiding "this young nation."

Everyone who reads the newspapers knows this does not reflect the real situation. Even as Mr. Johnson spoke "the gallant people of South Viet Nam" were engaging in fratricidal strife. What began as a civil war between the Saigon regime and Communist-led guer-

UNPOPULAR WAR

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, in June 1965, 10 South Vietnamese generals spearheaded a military coup, overthrown the civilian government and then selected flamboyant Air Marshal Ky as Prime Minister. Unfortunately, as further evidence that the United States has become involved in a miserable civil war in Vietnam, the fact is that Ky was born and reared near Hanoi considerably north of the 17th parallel. Throughout the last 12 months that militarist regime, although supported by our Armed Forces and the CIA, has never won control over the major part of the area south of the 17th parallel and termed "South Vietnam" in the Geneva agreement. The facts are at the present time this militarist regime has only questionable control of one-fourth of the area of South Vietnam. Lacking the support of our Armed Forces and the CIA, Ky could not have maintained himself as Prime Minister. Ky very definitely is on his way out as Prime Minister.

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rilias, with the United States supporting Saigon and North Viet Nam the guerrillas, was turning into a second civil war between the crumbling Saigon regime and dissident military, student and Buddhist factions in central Viet Nam.

In his Chicago address Mr. Johnson challenged "those who speak and write about Viet Nam to say clearly what other policy they would pursue," as though his critics had offered no constructive counsel. On the contrary, as the public knows, Mr. Johnson's critics have urged that the escalation of the war be stopped, that the bombing of North Viet Nam be halted, that the buildup of American troops and bases be stopped, and that a credible effort be made to secure negotiations.

If this advice had been followed months ago perhaps the present upheaval could have been avoided; after all, fighters on all sides are using American weapons. At least it should be clear that South Viet Nam is no more a nation now than it ever was, and that the United States has been supporting a transitory coalition of warlords who have a personal stake in keeping the military struggle alive and who are incapable of governing.

Washington cannot very well interfere in a fight between two factions of its "allies." But it can count on a still more rapid decline of American support for the war if the "allies" do not stop killing each other. The United States supposedly is in Viet Nam at the request of a duly-constituted government; what if there is no government?

We do not believe Mr. Johnson can ever make the war popular, but he could increase his own stature, and perhaps begin to pave the way for an honorable withdrawal, by convincing the people that he is honestly and clearly facing the facts as they are, not as he would like them to be. We do not know of any morale in Saigon that now could be damaged by such a frank appraisal.

Secretary of Defense McNamara made a remark in his Montreal speech that seems particularly apropos. "The realistic mind," he said, "is a restlessly creative mind—free of naive delusions, but full of practical alternatives." We hope Mr. Johnson was listening.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. The great English statesman Edmund Burke stated: War never leaves where it found a nation.

In Vietnam, with our tremendous firepower and napalm bombing we are engaged in defoliating and depopulating a nation of approximately 32 million men, women, and children living in an area about 2½ times the area of the State of Ohio where we have some 10 million people. In Vietnam in the north-central area and in the northwest there are vast mountain ranges and in other areas huge rivers, swamps, rice paddies, and uninhabitable jungles.

Secretary of State Rusk continually talks of aggression from the north as if North Vietnam were a foreign aggressor nation. Very definitely it is not. The Geneva agreement which Secretary of State John Foster Dulles approved, specifically stated:

The military demarcation line at the 17th parallel is provisional and should not in any way be considered as constituting a political or territorial boundary.

Historically, there is no North Vietnam nor South Vietnam. The Vietnamese are one people.

In 1954 the French forces numbering 200,000 were supplemented by thousands of Vietnamese, the Tories of that time

who fought against the nationalist forces, then termed Vietminh, fighting for freedom from French Colonialists, and then returned to civilian life. Many from the north migrated to the south as they were despised by some of their neighbors who fought for liberation. On the other hand, many from South Vietnam whose sympathies were with the Vietminh or who had actually fought with the Vietminh migrated to the north.

President Diem, who was installed as President of the Saigon Government, refused to permit the elections called for by the Geneva agreement, which our Government approved. General Eisenhower, in his reminiscences, stated it was well understood that Ho Chi Minh, regarded as the George Washington of Vietnam who had led the fight for the nation's freedom from French colonialism, would have received 80 percent of the vote in both North and South Vietnam had the elections been held, and the question of reunification of all of Vietnam would have been resolved. Without a doubt, the sinister hand of the CIA participated not only in installing Diem as President, but in directing his policies. Many years ago Martin Luther, in a sermon, stated:

War is the greatest plague that can afflict humanity. It destroys religion, it destroys states, it destroys families. Any scourge is preferable to it.

He said this centuries before warplanes, heavy artillery and napalm bombing.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 3 additional minutes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. The primary reason for our being in Vietnam today is our stubborn refusal to admit a mistake in our attempt to make Vietnam a pro-American and an anti-Chinese state. More than anything else, we are fighting to avoid admitting failure. We lost face by messing into a miserable civil war in Vietnam in the first place. We would not lose face were we to withdraw our forces to our coastal bases. As Walter Lippmann bluntly put it:

We are fighting to save face.

We would save face and win respect by withdrawing our forces from Vietnam.

Let it not be written by future historians that American boys died needlessly in far distant jungles because of weakness of diplomats and indifference of politicians. I wish I had as much confidence in the skill and intelligence of our diplomats in trying to settle this war as I do in the bravery and high competence of our soldiers fighting the war.

I was in southeast Asia most of the time from last September 28 to October 19. In South Vietnam I was in the field at every airbase, was at Cam Ranh Bay and on a carrier off the coast. In addition, I made observations in Thailand from whence our bombers have been striking targets in North Vietnam. My conclusions, based on my observations

and conferences with Generals Westmoreland, Stilwell, Prime Minister Ky, and others, changed from my views before making this on-the-spot survey. I had been led to believe that the Vietcong fighting us were Communist infiltrators from the north. Instead, I was informed by General Stilwell that 80 percent of the Vietcong fighting us in the Mekong Delta were born and reared in the Mekong Delta in what is called South Vietnam. General Westmoreland stated that the bulk of the Vietcong fighting the Americans and other Vietnamese were born and reared in South Vietnam.

Of course, there can be no armistice or cease-fire unless representatives of the Vietcong or National Liberation Front are seated as delegates along with delegates of the Saigon government, either the present regime or the one that will probably be succeeding the Ky regime. Also, delegates from Hanoi, as well as delegates representing the United States. Let us hope that administration leaders will be guided by the wisdom of U Thant, Secretary General of the United Nations, and will earnestly seek a cease-fire and withdraw our forces to coastal bases in South Vietnam and then withdraw altogether from what has become an American war.

Mr. President, every possible effort should be made to extricate ourselves from this miserable civil war in a land which is of no strategic importance whatever to the defense of the United States. We must not only explore alternatives to winning what is, in reality, an impossible war to win. Administration leaders must also give more serious consideration to the alternatives for deescalation of the war and eventual withdrawal—painful though that may be.